

Pensar História da Arte

ESTUDOS DE
HOMENAGEM A
**José-Augusto
França**

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ESFERA DO CAOS



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The definition of New Economic Spaces in the early Francoist period

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In the mid-1970s German, French, Italian, and Spanish historians of architecture and urbanism began to study the reality constructed by European fascists. They sought to understand both the genesis of those proposals and their genealogy while recognizing that in each country there weren't only different responses to the same problem but also that some options became antagonistic.

In each one of the countries the "fascist alternative" had a different origin, development, and decline. Conceived based on different assumptions, if German nationalism or Italian fascism had its genesis in intellectual "support," Spain and Portugal had governments that were the product of coups by those who had the singular preoccupation of stopping the process of change initiated by social democratic republics, thereby going back in history and returning to longed for situations of the past. Germany and Italy complained about monumentalism in their architecture; however, the sense that the Italian *ventennio* would give the *romanità* (the architecture, for example, of Adalberto Libera or Giuseppe Vaccaro) was a reflection of the larger *modernità facista* while the projects of Albert Speer (not to mention Wilhelm Kreis, Paul Troost or Ernst Sagebiel) were understood as coherent with the *theory of the value of ruin*. The issues identified were absolutely second order questions and one could add to make it evident how political debate about economic housing development by the Reich was different that were outlined in Italy by architects that claimed to be fascists (those of the *Gruppo 7* that included Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, Adalberto Libera, and Giuseppe Terragni) despite which functionalist themes were developed. Likewise the conception of the city that was proposed in Germany by Gottfried Feder and Speer himself was different from the blueprints developed by Piccinato for the Sabaudia Regulator Plan.

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To propose a comparative study of architecture and urbanism developed in German, Italy, Portugal, France, or Spain is difficult: if in Germany the architects linked to Hitler took up the historical arguments of those who, during the years of Weinmar, formed part of the group of conservative architects *Der nationale Block* (in which Paul Schmitthenner, Paul Bonatz, Hubert Gessner, and Paul Schultze-Naumburg took part) in Spain those who joined the new State had been – during the years of the Republic – rational architects. And it should not be forgotten that if the Germany of the NSDAP disappeared in May 1945, the Francoist regime – following long and complex transformations – didn't fade until 1977. Unlike the more or less monolithic German government, in the military uprising initiated by Franco on July 18, 1936, groups participated like the Falangists associated with the German government, members of the right tied to the Catholic church, monarchists against the liberal city as well as an undefined group of unaffiliated technicians who collaborated from the beginning with the uprising.

If years ago we sought to know the roots of architecture – now it is necessary to formalize the “blue avant-garde” (the avant-garde linked to fascism), as alternative and complementary.¹ And in this sense, the work produced by Andrés Trapiello and Susana Wahnón has opened a new line of reflection as it emerged that they were not only poorly valued figures but also contextualized individuals.² The intention was to show how reused concepts used by fascists and nationalists (*race, romanità, land of ancestors (das Vaterland), State, land and blood or Country*), converting them into longed for ideals *Spanishness, Empire or Catholic idiosyncrasy* that came to be valued in the New State. And, seeking how to synthesize “values” in an image, the voice capable of expressing such sentiments was “the Escorial.”

In 1932 Ernesto Giménez Caballero noted that architecture was the *essence of the totalitarian State* understood as ...*Art of the State, func-*

¹ José Carlos Mainer, *La Edad de Plata (1902-1951): ensayo de interpretación de un proceso cultural*, Barcelona Asenet, 1975.

² Andrés Trapiello, *Las armas y las letras. Literatura y guerra civil*. Barcelona, Destino, 2010 and Susana Wahnón, *La estética literaria de la posguerra: del fascismo a la vanguardia*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1998 and “Entre la vanguardia y el clasicismo. Visiones del arte nuevo en los fascismos europeos” in *El fascismo clásico, 1919-1945 y sus epígonos: nuevas aportaciones teóricas*, coordinator Joan Antón Mellón, Madrid, Tecnos, 2012, pp.191-236.

tion of the State, essence of the State, affirmed when art was propaganda, being at its roots ...the idea of fighting, of combat, that art should be a revelation of the State, that it should formulate the image of a supreme art in such a way that the State embodies the absolute genus of a people, of a nation, of a culture.³ Since the will to define “a new Catholicism”⁴ seeking to give image to the new State “translated” fascist or nationalist ideas. They presented absurd projects as alternatives “to the Marxist architecture of rationalism” when they didn’t plagiarize proposals conceived by architects from the two countries. In reviewing the “blue avant-garde,” the imprecise references that Giménez Caballero provided have been understood as mandatory slogans by the scholar. And simplifying his work, scholars have understood that “the architecture of the State” was only Herrerian. My intention is to make you see how, aside from philological references, the “architecture of the State” (which was imposed in the Spain of the Reconstruction) had a different meaning and scope when considered a reflection of another type of modernity preoccupied both with eliminating “regional references” and imposing identical types of criteria and solutions.



In 1940 Dionisio Ridruejo left the General Directorate of Propaganda Office and founded the magazine *Escorial*⁵. It would be incorrect to understand that the magazine/manifesto would include (due to its title) formal references not to Herrerian architecture but rather to what

³ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Arte y Estado*. Madrid, Gráfica Universal, 1935, p.84.

⁴ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *La nueva catolicidad teoría general sobre el fascismo en Europa: en España*. Madrid, Editions of *La Gaceta Literaria*, 1933. In the second edition an additional chapter appeared about “The Spanish Fascists.”

⁵ Dionisio Ridruejo, “La vida intelectual española en el primer decenio de la postguerra” in *Triunfo*, extraordinary about “La cultura española del siglo XX”, no. 507, 17 April 1972, reedited in *Entre Literatura y Política* Madrid, Seminars and editions, Madrid 1973, pp.37-38. Similarly, Francisco Sevillano Calero, *Propaganda y dirigismo cultural en los inicios del nuevo Estado*, in *Pasado y Memoria. Revista de Historia Contemporánea* University of Alicante no. 1, 2002; José Carlos Mainer, “La revista *Escorial* on the literary life of his time (1940–1950)”. *Ínsula* (271 y 273–274).1969. Thomas MERMALL, “Aesthetics and politics in Falangist culture (1935-45)” in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Liverpool University Press, Vol. I, No. 1 (January 1973), pp. 45-55.

should be the “new architecture.” There were none, because the preoccupation was to give a new image to that Spain the reason for which a certain way of approaching culture prevailed as in formal references. Later, because they never published propaganda in that magazine, unlike works that appeared in *Reconstrucción*, *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, *Haz*, *Vértice*, *Semana*, *Destino* or *Fotos...* And if in *Escorial* there was no article where alternatives were proposed, it was because nobody was interested in proposing options about what should be the new architecture of the State.

The architects affiliated with the Spanish Falange had developed, before the War their professional activity based on the assumptions of a now condemned rationalism given the numerous professional publications that before 1936 had both presented Ventennio architecture and reported about the national socialist aspiration to create a national style opposed to the architecture of Weimar. While it is true that about the first aspect there is the need to make numerous references, the figure of Hitler was also referenced noting how ...*Hitler rebelled against the utilitarian and the primacy of economic plans* adding how the “new Germany” ...*condemned individual art and architecture related to housing, understanding it as a grand space purified by a vacuum.*⁶ In the same line presented – as an example of the new architecture – the image of a concentration camp near Munich (without a doubt, Dachau) which it specified how the cited image corresponded to...*a camp designated for the concentration of communist elements.*⁷ Those opinions coincided with those of some in Spain who suggested that: since *La Construcción Moderna*, Sainz de los Terreros would point to how modern constructions were influenced by Marxism.⁸

Those who argued such things ignored both the architecture of Italian fascists (reclaimed by the Spanish avant-garde, with numerous published references on Figini, Pollini, Libera, Terrani...) like what José Manuel Aizpurua –after in 1928 constructing the San Sebastián Nautical Club – one of the many Spanish buildings reproduced by the German avant-garde magazines – not only was co-founder of the most im-

⁶ *La Construcción Moderna*, XXXII, 1934, p.1.

⁷ *Blanco y Negro*, nº 2181, 26-March-1933.

⁸ Luis Sainz de los Terreros, *La Construcción Moderna*, 1934, p.163.

portant group of avant-garde architecture (GATEPAC) but also that, in the First National Council of the Spanish Falange, he was appointed Head of the Press and Propaganda Service. His architecture didn't have anything in common with the nostalgic assessment that Giménez Caba-llero later made of the past, and proof of this is that, since the "Service of Propaganda," Aizpura surrounded himself with intellectual fascists (Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval, Vicente Gaceo, Manuel Mateo, Rafael Sánchez Mazas, Mariano García Gutiérrez or Vicente Cárdenas) without ever protesting the opinion or the collaboration of those architects integrated into the Falange (Víctor d'Ors, José Subirana, José Fonseca, Gaspar Blein, Manuel Valdés Larrañaga, José Luis Arrese, Luis Felipe Vivanco, Francisco Prieto Moreno...) ⁹ Given that he was shot in the first days of the War, it would be good to reflect on what could have been to the architecture of the Falange, if not only one of its greatest politicians but also and above all "its" architect had not left an absence provoking an intellectual vacuum. ¹⁰

After the War, the drawings of Víctor d'Ors, the project of Luis Moya for the "Monument to National Exaltation," the proposals submitted to the competition for the Valley of the Fallen, or the designs of Víctor Eusa were supplemented by Moreno Barberá's plagiarism of the Schmitthenner's proposals or with the evident influence of Libera on his proposal for the new city of Aprilia in Francisco de Asís Cabrero. Those who have pointed out that the architecture of the first Francoism was "in the style of the Escorial" citing the Ministry of Air constructed by Gutiérrez Soto, didn't know one fact: that for that project the author defined urban development, outlined the plan and later conceived... two different facades: one, in the style of the Escorial (constructed) and the other – similar to the architecture that Troost had developed in Munich – where in a grand gesture of eclecticism he included as a decoration both Italian fascists and German swastikas. A rationalist in the organization of interior space (in the arrangement, for example, of the stairwells or of the design of the perimeter ring of communication, around which the building was articulated) both proposals were pre-

⁹ Antonio Tovar, "Lo que a Falange debe el Estado" in *Arriba*, March 1, 1953.

¹⁰ Eduardo González Calleja, *La prensa carlista y falangista durante la Segunda República y la Guerra Civil (1931-1937)* in *El Argonauta español*, no. 9, 2012 (Issue dedicated to: *La presse réactionnaire*).

sented to Speer, given that he was the German architect who decided which of the two would be carried out.¹¹



If the Civil War imagined the way for the Falange to access political power, it wasn't in the field of culture. The debate over "style" led by those who demanded a State with "new values" remained open even if it scarcely came to fruition in terms of proposals. As years later Ridruejo would signal...*after 1939 there were...not only intellectuals...participants in expectations and projects but also...old figures opposed to the "new values"...*Soon it became evident that these...groups, people - ...were made up of counter-revolutionaries, of those restorers of the celebrated "eternal Spain" that, of course, nobody has ever known, because eternity is not History.¹²

In a Government where it was necessary to maintain an equilibrium between different forces, by assigning to the Catholic "family" in the control of teaching) it was necessary to compensate the Falangists, handing over to them the work of Propaganda.¹³ Despite this, there were no concrete answers from the Falange. The distance between discourse and reality was abysmal and the Falangist slogans remained as an example of empty words: thus, in exhibiting Arrese (named Minister of the Secretary General of the Movement in 1941) the achievements made by the Falange in the area of housing affirmed...*after the War we didn't want Peace but rather Revolution, and that Revolution is a return to God in the face of materialism and atheism, a return to the nation in the face of nationalism and internationalism, a return to social justice in the face of privilege and demagogy.*¹⁴

Pedro Laín Entralgo commented at the time on the so-called failure of the *Department of Plastic*, which was built during the years of the

¹¹ José Ángel Medina Murua, *Aizpurua y Labayen*, Delegation of Gipuzkoa of the Official College of Architects Vasco Navarro, Council of Gipuzkoa, San Sebastián, 2011.

¹² Carlos Sambricio "La arquitectura española 1939-45: la alternativa falangista" in *Arquitectura*, March 1976, no.199.

¹³ Boletín del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1939, p.89.

¹⁴ Dionisio Ridruejo, "La vida intelectual española en el primer decenio de la postguerra", *Triunfo*, extraordinary about *La cultura española del siglo XX*, no. 507, see note 5.

Civil War in the Service of National Propaganda and responsible for giving a formal image to the “New State.”¹⁵ Led by the painter Juan Cabaña, its lack of relevance was a fiasco for those who understood that the “new image” could originate from one who was first a surrealist painter and later a follower of Italian metaphysical painting. The three fundamental projects of that Service were the stage for the military Parade celebrated in April 1939; the ephemeral architecture that served as the backdrop to the reinauguration of University City and the mounting of the Exhibition about the Reconstruction, inaugurated at the National Library. That those three events took place in “Madrid of the Victory” reflects how it sought to radiate a new aesthetic, proposing itself as a paradigmatic reference. It didn’t only want to be defined as a “new style” but also disseminated as such, seeking...*direct indoctrination by texts and images which needed to be defined...the cultural control and the organization of the instruments of public communication at all levels.*¹⁶ They understood that their mission was to capture the thinking of the founder of the Falange: and if what up until then had been made as propaganda was a bit vague, his ambition was to establish practical formulations and effective proposals. The contradiction was – and of that Laín Entralgo was conscious – that the founder of the Falange had never explained his opinions about the subject, which is why invoking his name was only a guarantee to justify behavior.

If the rejection of a rationalism that was identified with the culture of the pre-war was almost unanimous, architecture professionals (professionals without doubts or intellectual concerns, dependent on the tastes and opinions of the client) lacked slogans about their new “task.” If via politics they sought to glorify the victory (...*the victorious end of the War and the strong desire to erase as soon as possible the tragic marks of his experience, not excluding the task of perpetuating the memory of sacrifices and heroism*)¹⁷ given the various projects of the Uprising, of

¹⁵ Antonio Tovar “Lo que a Falange debe el Estado” in *Arriba*, March 1, 1953.

¹⁶ José Luis Arrese “La obra falangista de la vivienda”, Málaga, May 5, 1940, in José Luis Arrese, *Treinta años de política*, Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1966, volumen I.

¹⁷ Laín Entralgo, Pedro, *Descargo de conciencia (1930-1960)*. Barcelona, Barral Editores, 1976, p. 202. Similarly, “La obra de los Servicios Técnicos de FET y JONS”, in *Arriba*, May 7, 1942, p.2.

the Victory or of the Fallen, almost unanimously the responses given to them were only crazy exercises. And soon the Falangist architects understood that their vocation was not so much to define a new image as to participate in the Government occupying positions, formulating vague guidelines about what should be the characteristics of the housing of the New State and the proposal for the city. There were those who admired the Italian or German experiences: to state such admiration conditioned a reality that supposed forgetting that those who participated in the Uprising on July 18, 1936 belonged to heterogeneous political currents, which is why it is difficult to establish that the Uprising had a defined ideology. Each one of those groups didn't only seek to participate in the Government but also to impose its opinions (that is, define policies) in the administrative bodies that were created in the first months of the War. In this sense, to understand the work of the National Service of Devastated Regions (later the General Directorate of Devastated Regions) of the National Institute of Colonization of the General Directorate of Architecture, Union Work of the Home or National Institute of Housing is key because they didn't only have different lines of action (thus, their own organizational criteria) that often were conflicting.

The Regime emerged when radicals like the count of Montarco proposed – invoking seditious comments of the founder of the Falange....*to set fire to all corners of Madrid establishing squads of firefighters in determined areas with the idea of protecting specific buildings.* The writer Agustín de Foxá would disqualify the city itself – reproaching its resistance to Francoist troops – branding it as if it were a Soviet city – from *Madridgrado*, in line with genral Queipo de Llano who had called the Andalusian capital Seville *the red*. If poets like Federico Urrutia (*Leopoldo de Luis*) glossed a “dead architecture” (in the same way that Speer had theorized about “the value of ruin”) Franco – in his discourse glorifying what was the battle of Belchite, with the resulting destruction of the city – promised to maintain the ruins so that future generations could observe the heroism of his supporters¹⁸. The Francoist Uprising was not a coop that, in a few hours, changed one government for another but rather that involved a long Civil War that lasted three years.

¹⁸ Francisco Sevillano Calero, *Propaganda y dirigismo cultural...*, op.cit., Note 5.

It didn't substitute, in consequence, one form of politics for another, which is why during the time that it lasted there were two governments with opposing cultural models.¹⁹ Each group proposed different politics about the construction of social housing, about land management, about the extension of urban centers or about the characteristics of regional plans. But even within each group there were different focuses: if the socialist proposals didn't coincide with those made by columnists or anarchists, in the camp of the uprising there were also, and from the beginning, different ways of understanding what a city should be and how it should be governed. There were liberals (like Cesar Cort, a professor of Urbanism at the School of Architecture of Madrid) who criticized a model of the city where the developer could act freely without restrictions, ordinances, or regulations that imposed areas of zoning of use or volume; there were also monarchists that, coherent with the ideas formulated in the 19th century by Jaime Balmes and Juan Donoso Cortés (developed in the 20th century by Víctor Pradera, in line with Carl Schmitt) formulated their rejection of the liberal city understanding that the same had been the cause and origin of all evil. His concern was not to denigrate a specific population – to understand, for example, Madrid as a traitor to the cause – how much to externalize his rejection toward the urban model of the liberal city glossing the rural model, rejecting the idea of progress based on reasons such as...*the city will be conquered: its pride humiliated; confused by its science of disappearance; rescued from error by traditional weapons; subject to the enduring spiritual canon whose return returns to its origins with the goal of trafficking in the pain of false hate.*²⁰ But there was also – as occurred in the Andalucía of General Queipo de Llano – who sought to maintain the architectural image that the bourgeois landowner had spread before the Civil War.

During the first weeks of contention general Queipo de Llano had achieved military control of Andalucía, “reigning” with little account of its management of the government of Burgos. In Granada and Sevilla it fostered (the two cities were emblematic of Andalucía) the image of a society devoted to the predominant rural tradition and contrary to the republican culture that had characterized Madrid and Barcelona, both

¹⁹ Boletín del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1939, p.89.

²⁰ Manuel Tuñón de Lara, “La cultura durante la Guerra Civil” in *Historia* 16, t.17, p.6.

industrial cities. By giving a blow to the ideological option that the Republic imposed in housing for the middle class that was constructed in both cities, an invented "Andalusian regionalism," it was understood that it provided an alternative to the social policies of the Real Estate Board of State Social Policy founded by the Republic in 1932.²¹ Facing the debate on the functionality of housing (its normalization or even the possible industrialization of its construction), facing a program of necessities that were offered a new quality of life in worker housing, his proposal was... *to obtain the habitability of the humble home, the economic tranquility of the "mistrál", the development of love for the home... achieving...that the Catholic home in which the sublime oration of the Lord's Prayer rests, brings together the minimum conditions so that she can pray with dignity.*²² Contrary to understanding worker housing as "minimum housing," it defined housing for the middle class as...*the cradle of the family and the altar of our traditions* imposing, in consequence, both separate dormitories for the sexes and equipping the house with...*an object that "symbolizes the idea of home."*²³ It is true that Queipo fell in disgrace before the end of the War: nevertheless, the architects of the Falange who assumed the construction of those works signaled that... *we have tried to achieve a strong popular character in line with the somewhat rural type of subdivision of the buildings.*²⁴

Proclaiming the triumph of rural culture to the industrial world led to – as Enrique de Aguinaga noted in his day – the 1938 proposal of Ramón Serrano Suñer to – accept the criticism of Traditionalism of metropolis Madrid – to punish the "rebellious" city, stripping it of the title of capital and moving it to Seville. Luis Jordana de Pozas, Alfonso Peña Boeuf, and Raimundo Fernández Cuesta entered in the debate over whether or not such measures were suitable: and a little later Franco – accompanied by Serrano Suñer – he traveled to Seville, taking

²¹ Javier Ugarte, *La nueva Covadonga insurgente. Orígenes sociales y culturales de la Sublevación de 1936 en Navarra y el País Vasco*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 1998, pp.154-155.

²² M^a Pilar Puertas Contreras, *La vivienda social en la Granada de la postguerra*, Doctoral Thesis. Department of Human Geography. University of Granada, <http://hdl.handle.net/10481/21733>.

²³ Queipo de Llano, "Proclamation creating the National Work of Housing for the Disabled", *Ideal*, June 1, 1937.

²⁴ The Technical Services of FET and JONS (1939), p.29.

the time (according to Aguinaga) to consider, regarding the land, the hypothesis.²⁵ After the war, the transformation of Madrid was imposed as a fundamental question even if it was necessary to redefine the apparatus of the State. Both problems were contemplated not at the end of the war but rather during the war: the first proposal of a new Madrid would come from a group of architects that (hidden in the anarchist center CNT) devised a project for a new capital that they would present in October 1939 at the "1st National Assembly of Architecture of the Technical Services of FET and JONS;" in turn, the proposal both of the organizational chart and of the guidelines about how to deal with the reconstruction were presented in a meeting celebrated in Burgos in 1938 where, before more than 200 architects, they set guidelines and imposed slogans.

Sofía Diéguez has made a more accurate interpretation about the group that, together with the CNT and under the direction of Pedro Bidagor, since 1937 had dealt with the urban study of the Capital. Bidagor had not only shown before the War with Prieto Moreno (the Falangist architect from Granada with the greatest presence and prestige) different works but had also collaborated for years with Secundino Zuazo on a proposal elaborated for the republican government about the organization of the Outskirts and Extension of Madrid.²⁶ Between the latter and the plan defined by the CNT there was a clear difference: if the first sought to provide a response both to the previous reform of the old city (equating services and resources by neighborhood) and to define a new concept of growth in the north of the city, making available in them houses for the high, medium, and working class and laying the foundations for a regional plan, the second proposal provided a break with such an idea by proposing to limit the growth of the city. It defined two green rings, that would be like crowns around the nuclear center: and if it understand the old central city as a residential city, each one of those rings would designate an industrial area and a workers

²⁵ News about the homes in the Seville neighborhood of León (146 single family homes) appears in *La Unión* November 10, 1937 and February 18, 1938; the note about "La Barriada del Porvenir" in *La Unión* on May 19, 1938 and the proposal about El Prado de San Sebastián in *La Unión* May 21, 1938. See note 23.

²⁶ Enrique Aguinaga, "*Madrid, Empresa Nacional*". Cultural Hall. Course of the History of Madrid. Madrid City Hall. Madrid, 1967, p. 34-35.

housing area. Questioning the historic configuration of the old urban nucleus, reordering it by proposing that the concept of a “neighborhood” should be defined not only by the number of inhabitants (set at a maximum of 100,000 inhabitants) but also by its services and resources proposing – where Zauzo had formulated his proposal of “social peace” – what in 1939 would be defined as “Capital of the Empire.”

It is true that during the Civil War Víctor d'Ors wrote about “The reconstruction of Spanish cities”²⁷ even if it was vague and, one could say, almost literary. In opposition, Bigador proposed his idea emphasizing how much it reflected the debate of a team in which there were both managers José Gascón y Marín (intellectual mentor in the municipal policy of Primo de Rivera) like Adelardo Martínez de Lamadrid (an engineer to whom Bigador assigned as work the location of the industrial centers), Luis Pérez Mínguez (an architect who studied in the School of Urbanism in Berlin), Gaspar Blein... a preview of the idea was presented – in October 1939 – in the 1st National Assembly of Architecture of the Technical Services of FET and JONS. The plan was completed in 1941 and would be approved in 1946 when it was already impossible to finish it given that speculation prevented any expropriation.

A non-militant Falange (a team composed of non-militants) proposed – in the name of FET and JONS – to convert Madrid into the “Capital of the Empire.” The vague reference to the Escorial was upsetting: for them that Assembly took away, in the first place, the debate stressing how much on display represented a decision taken by the new hierarchy entrusted to Gutiérrez Soto (for professional prestige) explained how, from that moment, those who worked for the administration would assume that any decision taken was the responsibility of the Government. The words of architect Luis Gutiérrez Soto (...when have we seen architects who want to organize a country? What relation do they have to economic and social problems? So much theory and so much doctrine so that after a few years they tell us that Bilbao is industrial and the Ciudad Real is agricultural? Dedicate yourselves to doing things well and

²⁷ Sofia Diéguez, “Pedro Bidagor. Dos contextos: los años de Guerra y Postguerra en Madrid. De la Sección de Arquitectura de CNT a la Junta de Reconstrucción” in Carlos Sambricio (ed.) *Plan Bidagor 1941-1946*, Community of Madrid and Nerea, Madrid, 2003, pp.19-34.

don't get involved in problems!)²⁸ were without a doubt a surprise, but no less than the ideas about the city presented by the other participants. The administration's wishes to coordinate diverse organizations that, until that time had been occupied by issues like the reconstruction, the construction of economic housing or the colonization of the interior were clear, and Blein was put in charge of presenting the issue. He took on the necessity of defining a "national style" representative of the new State, and Cardenas was the one who made it evident that more important than urban architecture was the development of a rural architecture that reflected the idiosyncrasy of the country. Finally, Bidagor and Pérez Mínguez defined the characteristics of the new Capital, theorizing about the Imperial City.

At that Assembly (and as would become evident in the following ones) the real mission of Bigador was to absorb the "Technical Services of FET and JONS" (diminishing its importance and preventing them from transforming into the armed branch of what wanted to be the Spanish *Arbeitsfront*) and collaborate with those who plotted the administrative plan capable of controlling the activity of organizations in charge of the reconstruction in Spain. The slogan launched in the air was the proposal of the "Imperial Capital," although it soon became evident that the proposal was not viable for two reasons: first, because the course that the World War took "discouraged" the construction of an "Imperial City" where a location would have to be found for the buildings that Hitler or Mussolini should occupy when they visited Madrid. Later, and above all, because the loans and grants awarded by the National Institute of Credit for the Reconstruction were focused primarily on how much it would help the reconstruction of the economy.

With the aim to rebuild the idiosyncrasies of Spanish homes, another concern of the new Regime was to redefine the characteristics that Spanish cities should meet considering their mission (*subordinating their role to the transcendent destiny of God*) to be understood as unique and to be made as a live being, an organic whole²⁹. To apply – as some

²⁸ Víctor d'Ors, "Hacia la reconstrucción de las ciudades españolas" in *Vértice* no. 37, June 1937.

²⁹ Gutiérrez Soto, "Dignificación de la vida (Vivienda, Esparcimiento y Deportes)," in *Texto de las sesiones celebradas en el teatro Español de Madrid por la*

complained – the anti-urban spirit to the great city was unworkable and the only option for Bidagor was a compromise between building the grandiose imperial city and disrupting the existing city. Decoupling the “political center” and “organization of neighborhoods,” he proposed converting them into a group of ganglionated urban centers, each independent of the other, with common characteristics of which each one would be structured around a civic center defined by the presence of a plaza, a Church, and a municipal headquarters...Each and every one of them should have identical features and their configuration should reflect the open debate by German sociologists who – at the end of the 19th century – had theorized about the concepts of “community” and “society;” likewise, Bidagor sought to substitute urban social-democratic projects – where the rationalist architecture was understood to be a reflection of a trend or, similarly, of the “ephemeral” – the other was linked to “the eternal” Spanish, identified with “the soul” of the “national architecture.”³⁰ After all the presentations made at the 1st Assembly, the underlying concern about the city, which was of Germanic origin, was presented by Ferdinand Tönnies, George Simmel, Werner Sombart and Dietrich Schäfer. It was not about a positive assessment of the past to convert this into a tool for shaping the future. Understanding the necessity of redefining the neighborhoods, in 1940 they accepted the proposals of Gottfried Feder (to whom, before the War, Pérez Minguez had already delivered the news) and where neighborhood and district were different, assigning the latter a maximum of 20,000 inhabitants with the understanding that it was advantageous for a metropolitan area. And taking on the assumptions defined by Feder for the nationalist-socialist *Neue Stadt*, architect Alberto Acha from Bidagor’s team projected “a city of 100,000 inhabitants” identical, both in concept and in form, to that conceived in Germany.³¹

The experience of Queipo in Seville and Granada, in proposing budget housing for the middle class, was made by criticizing the human

Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos los días 26, 27, 28 y 29 de junio de 1939, Madrid. Technical Services of FET and of JONS. Architecture section pág. 54.

³⁰ Francisco Casares, “Significación Moral de la reconstrucción. Entrevista con Moreno Torres”, *La Vanguardia Española*, July 26, 1940.

³¹ Maximo Cacciari, *Metropoli. Saggi sulla grande città di Sombart, Endell, Schef-fler e Simmel*, Roma, Oficina, 1973.

scale of the organic composition of the city. Based on this assumption, the neighborhood was defined as “a group of homes” and noted...we ought to provide a dignified home to each family, we should make sure the home is provided along with others in the neighborhood so that they form an organic whole in which the hierarchic presence of spiritual and collective values is maintained within its traditional range. We should make cities and towns equal in a brotherhood subject to national coexistence.³² Emphasizing the presence of neighborhoods in urban centers, the contradiction in Bidagor was – after affirming how the social, political, or religious model implied the destruction of what existed, in order to return to tradition – to not define the type of housing, commenting only that it should be...*the space where a woman should find true meaning, given that it is her job to fulfill domestic tasks so that, in a small space, the housing was comfortable and aesthetically pleasing, based on adequate furniture and small areas.*³³

Blein's intervention in the 1st Assembly (regarding the coordination of the different agencies) can be explained by a fact often overlooked: although several agencies soon arose that were involved in the construction of housing – the Directorate General for Devastated Regions (DGRD), Workers Union for the Home (OSH), National Institute of Colonization (INC) or National Institute of Housing (INV) – from the beginning the intention of the Government was to make guidelines for the characteristics of those houses. This aspect – key to the reconstruction of country destroyed after three years of War – was ignored by Bidagor, which would be evident in the proposal for an “Imperial Madrid” when it was only written word, not a vocation carried to term. If the “Reduced Housing Rental Act” was passed on April 19, 1939 (that is, scarcely 20 days after the end of the War, which reflects how it was created during the years of the struggle) the study of the amounts provided by the Institute of Credit for the Reconstruction reflects the absolute priority given to the agricultural sector in comparison to the

³² Gottfried Feder, *Die Neue Stadt*, Munich, 1939. The project of Acha appeared as an illustration for an article published by Alejandro Herrero, in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, no. 81, September 1948.

³³ José Luis Arrese, *Discurso de clausura del Congreso Nacional de urbanismo en el Consejo del Ciento de Barcelona*, November 8, 1959, in *Treinta años de política*, Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1966, volume I, p.1341.

urban sector or, similarly, how “reconstruction” was never understood as rebuilding urban homes destroyed by bombings but it was understood as putting the new apparatus of the State and the economy back together. To understand that first Francoism, it is key to assess the meeting that, in February 1938, gathered at the Government of Burgos, seeking to prevent spontaneous initiatives – like that taken by Quiépo de Llano – could be repeated. And the point is not only to understand which guidelines were made but also who took on the role of coordinating, especially when we know that the Falange lacked thinkers on a national scale.

Between July 18, 1936 and the formation – on January 31, 1938 – of the first Francoist Government (that is, before the War ended) the Regime had to define both the criteria of reconstruction policies and to substitute the previous social-democratic model of the city for an urban image that would soon be defined in Berlin or Rome. Similarly, he proposed housing policies that would benefit the middle bourgeoisie who had supported the government; he coordinated the construction of new economic housing and empowered autarkic policies, which meant promoting the colonization of the interior. If the priority task was reconstruction, the international situation (the beginning of the Second World War) forced the assessment of the term “reconstruction” in economic terms: to specify how to rebuild the economy in a Spain where the industry of transformation had been devastated, the option was to assume autarkic policies and promote agriculture. Cities had the mission of generating ideological wealth while, from the point of view of autarkic policies, the land was assigned the task of creating economic wealth: and that was when it was proposed that the natural agrarian economy be reconverted into an industrial agrarian economy.

By prioritizing investments in the rural world of the Regime, he not only opted to forget the fanciful urban projects but also greatly restrict the construction of social housing in urban centers. Both the DGRD and the INC were administrative agencies in charge of planning on a grand scale (country plans, watersheds, regional plans), returning to the experience carried out in interior settlement projects of the 20s and 30s. The first question considered – before the war ended – was not so much “what to do” as “how to manage it.” They had, as a precursor, both with the experience: that carried out in Belgium after the First

World War and that considered in Germany when – in 1916 – they proposed reconstruction projects.³⁴ After IGM there were several conferences where they debated reconstruction issues: in London, in 1920, the “Inter-Allied Congress for Reconstruction” was held where, among other debates, they raised the issue of the benefit of a standardized vernacular.

Between appealing – in rural architecture – to industrialized solutions or interpreting popular architecture, the latter was chosen even if now the interpretation that was made of the tradition was different from the one considered in the 20s. Because seeking to define the “style” (and identifying this with “tradition”) the reflection made by Moeller van der Broek in 1915 was accepted *-Der preußische Stil-*³⁵ proposing a new relation *with the elemental and the land*. As occurred in *Innen-Kolonisation* carried out by national socialism in eastern Prusia, it was understood that the resource of the popular made it possible to break with the liberal order, creating in consequence a new form of life. And declaring how the new approach should be...*fundamentally opposed to the methods of assessment and social forms*, he sought to combine revolutionary ideas with conservative ones.

The approach was not new in Spain since before 1936 Ludwig Klages³⁶ – taking up the antagonism between “soul” (*Seele*) and “spirit” (*Geist*)- had noted, based on Nietzsche, how much the “spirit” – expression of the rational, of the transcendent – disoriented the creative life of the “soul.” The latter was opposed to the “spirit,” because reduced by logic, it indicated how only the “soul” was capable of creating symbols and myths while the “spirit” didn’t do anything but invoke them. And given that the “spirit” (the rational) destroyed the world of myths and of images, he claimed that the emotional – identified with the Dionysian dynamic – based on the will to find a synthesis of the past and present, offered a new potential path.³⁷ In *Das Dritte Reich*,

³⁴ Francisco Javier Maestrojuan, “Ni un hogar sin ningún español sin hogar”. José Luis de Arrese y el simbolismo ideológico, in *Príncipe de Viana*, year LVIII, no. 210, 1997, pp. 171-190.

³⁵ John Campbell, *Der Deutscher Werkbund*, Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 1981, p.89, note 27.

³⁶ Anthony Phelan, *El dilema de Weimar los intelectuales en la republica de Weimar*, Valencia, 1990, p.16.

³⁷ Gerda Walter, “L. Klages y su lucha contra el espíritu” in *Revista de Occidente*, no. 29, 1930, pp.265-294 and 1930, pp.117-136.

Moeller had also signaled guidelines that should be met by the new society...*instead of equality we propose hierarchy; faced with mechanical choice, the emergence of genuine leaders; in place of bureaucratic coercion, personal responsibility of authentic discipline; in place of the happiness of the masses, the right of the community of the people*³⁸. In differentiating the old conservatism of the “conservative revolution” he noted that the main concern was to combine both to regenerate the ruin of the 19th century. Thus, the reference to tradition implied reflecting – on the ideas of inherited values – based on ancestral knowledge. And being conscious of how much the genuinely new was deeply rooted in the past, criticism of the ephemeral (understood as an instrument of power and destruction) implied questioning progress to understand that looking towards only the future meant turning away from the past³⁹.

The Falange had claimed – as a preoccupation of ideological character – the debate over the concept of “style,” assuming the idea of *Heimatstil* (i.e., identifying the rural world as *the natural source of the power of the people and the State*) and pointing towards the idea that architecture should...*be healthy, autochthonous, bound to landscape and to style*.⁴⁰ Revealing the influence of Moeller’s “style” which was defined as...*the bearing of the warrior, the tongue of the legislator, the dislike of the instant and reckoning when facing eternity*; in parallel – although from an economic standpoint – he advocated nationalism, self-sufficiency, and autarky in such a way that soon pragmatism was a rule and reality obligated him to abandon his vague dreams. The constitution of the National Defense Council made, therefore, with the objective of providing executive management of the Uprising, seeking to give the Francoist group governmental unity.⁴¹ It was understood that to create

³⁸ Moeller van der Bruck (*Das dritte Reich*, Berlin 1920) raised the necessity of finding a synthesis between past and present, between conservatism and revolution as a third way.

³⁹ Sebastian Maaß, *Die andere deutsche Revolution. Edgar Julius Jung und die metaphysischen Grundlagen der Konservativen Revolution*, Regio-Verlag Kiel, 2009.

⁴⁰ Klages took sides against *Geist*, valuing it as an instrument of Power and instruction, understanding that only *Seele* could free him.

⁴¹ Peter Collins noted in his day how the idea of *Heimatstil* was subsequently taken up by the Nazis. See Christiane F. Otto, “City Planning Theory in National-Socialist Germany”, in *JSAH*, t. XXIV, No. 1, March 1965, pp. 70-74.

a new national identity a national renewal would be necessary, given that it was the bond that would unite different social classes: thus, the concept of the “expert” (whether it was an engineer or a architect) capable of interpreting the ideology of the New State and translating it into concrete guidelines became important, thus distancing themselves from those professionals who, without initiative, were obligated to repeat the approaches imposed.

Faced with the debate about whether an idiosyncrasy linked to the concepts of Christian family should or should not, in 1938 Spain, be a starting point for new architecture (understanding that the virtues of the people were greater than the negative influences of liberal capitalism) the “experts” in the Government prioritized redefining the apparatus of the State. They understood the urgent need to set up a central administration capable of providing policy responses and set guidelines on a national level. Seldom has the role of those “experts” been highlighted not only in the first Francoism but also even in the one that had been played out years before during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Then and during the War, Joaquín Benjuméa would play a unique role: Minister of Public Works in 1926, in 1936 he played a decisive role in configuring – in the face of the empty words of the Falange – the new apparatus of the State. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, Benjuméa had sought both to complete an ambitious plan of waterworks – capable of exceeding the regional framework, conceived at a national level, coherent with the policies of the dictator of contrasting natural regions with territories that reclaimed their political-cultural identity – how to create a transport plan that included both the design of a modern network of roads and a new railway transport policy. Combining the skills of Public Works, Agriculture, Mines and Mountains, its aim was to define not a regional project but rather one on a greater scale, applying what Franz Neumann – referring to Germany – points out, in *Behemoth* how...*the most rational vocation, conscious of how the wellbeing of the national community could only be protected by the State*⁴². With the war already started, and after the failure of the administration by Muguruza ante Zuazo to propose the direct re-

⁴² “Consignas del Caudillo en el año que termina”. Arriba, December 31, 1943. Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: Pensamiento y acción en el nacionalsocialismo*, Fondo cultura económica, Mexico, 1943, p.401.

construction of the country and negate this⁴³, the responsibility of organizing the Service of Reconstruction of Devastated Regions would fall upon him, organizing the National Service for Devastated Regions would assume – given the capacity of the Falange to define concrete guidelines – to organize in February 1938 the assembly of more than 200 architects that met in Burgos, now a part of the Falange.

If that Falange – the one that claimed to represent a third way in regards to liberalism or Marxism – promised to overcome the class struggle through social integration by referring to “architecture” and “city” its proposals showed how...*the war would end soon and we should be prepared, in the rear, with works and projects that are of interest so that we can begin them. It is necessary to address everything from the municipalities to the drafting of points: of their financing, the State will deal with that.*⁴⁴ Thus limited to complaining about the construction in sites or spaces on the periphery (without questioning the previous order) they added how...*the distribution will be perfect and the government must finish the expansion plan with its corresponding classification for each area or sector of the population.* To debate if it was necessary to build existing residual spaces in the neighborhood or to propose extension plans implied reducing the level of the debate, removing the ideological proposal and replacing it with the manageable issue of what had previously been a liberal state and was now was in question. To configure a new city from the ganglion centers shows the existing confusion in the same way that questioning the municipal Regime shows the lack of alternative ideas. Hence the importance of Benjumea was that, indifferent to those who rhetorically claimed a “Falangist style,” he understood that “modernity” should not be so much a formal gesture as a way of managing, according to what Weimar Germany had defined as a “conservative revolution.”

In April 1937 via the Decree of Unification – Franco decided to merge and put under his command the various groups that had participated in the Uprising, creating, by Decree, a single party called the

⁴³ Carlos Sambricio, *Introducción a Memorias inéditas de Secundino Zuazo 1919-1940*, Nerea, Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid, Fuenterrabía, 2003, pp.124-130.

⁴⁴ Ramón Serrano Suñer “Discurso pronunciado en la *Exposición de la reconstrucción de España*”, in *Reconstrucción*, no. 3, Madrid, 1940, p.2.

Traditional Spanish Falange and the JONS (FET and of the JONS). That decision forced the old Falange to surrender their "ideals" and organize themselves as a service to the State (not the party) called the "Technical Service," one of those which was the "Technical Service of Architecture of FET and JONS." Pedro Muguruza (not a Falangist architect and with no organizational abilities) was named responsible of the "Technical Service," and in the face of the existing indolence Benjumea had to coordinate the meeting in Burgos where they not only debated issues related to "humble housing" but also, and above all, to the administrative organization of future services. For Falangist politician Fernández Cuesta (as he noted in his closing speech) the problem centered on defining the principles and values that should govern the ideal city that Falangism dreamed of ("the city of the movement"). Benjume would ignore such a statement and his reaction would set off a cadre of professionals (the majority, perhaps in the Falange, but without political formation) and whose mission should be to strictly apply the guidelines received. The way in which the line of transmission was established between those who defined the guidelines and the technicians – in the various areas – that should apply them constituted a clear example of the rationality of those who – on the extreme right – rejected the liberal State that had allowed formalist dilettantism. If for the minds of FET and JONS the problem was converting the "Falangist" who had been affiliated with the party during the war, for Benjumea the concern was establishing an organizational structure to make Francoists of those who, up until that time, were only supporters of the right⁴⁵ or, similarly, convincing those who had a formation as "liberal architects" that now they should work to carry out the guidelines imposed by the State. Benjumea's task was to organize the State administratively, to define an economic order by imposing the control of money, to provide guidelines for external trade and to normalize the life of citizens in the short term. He understood that the reconstruction of the country should part from a double premise: in the first place, to hierarchize the role of the country over the city given that this was the economic motor of the country, which implied paying minimum attention to Bidagor's propos-

⁴⁵ Carlos Viver Pi-Sunyer, *El personal político de Franco (1936-1945). Contribución empírica a una teoría del régimen franquista*, Barcelona, Vicéns-Vives, 1978.

als. In second place, in the rural world to substitute a natural agrarian economy for an industrial agrarian economy, which implied, as was done in 1926, programing on a scale that far exceeded local performance. By assigning the State market functions, it subordinated private interests in state planning, which is why it counted on the support of the National Institute of Credit for the Reconstruction (which it would soon direct) in its policies for the concession of funds. And with the ambition of redirecting the economic problems to the adequacy of available resources, he wanted to establish a totalitarian form of capitalism of the State that would serve, via the subordination of private sector to policy decisions to manage the transition from an “exchange economy” to an “mandate economy. He could thus implement (he, the Andalusian landowner who understood the questions accordingly) the claim made years earlier by parties of the bourgeois class⁴⁶.

In 1939 the General Department of Architecture, under the charge of architect Pedro Muguruza, prepared a *Ten Year Plan for Reconstruction* where it sent objectives to reconstruct not the houses destroyed by the War but rather the precise infrastructure for the government of the country. After connecting the municipalities, union buildings, barracks, representations of ministries, churches...where intervention was needed, Muguruza's document was – despite having been exhibited in the National Gallery of Architects in 1939 – a secondary consideration for those who understood that “to reconstruct” did not mean to rebuild what had been destroyed but rather to get the economy moving. Thus, the proposals to reconstruct the rural centers that were made after previously setting priorities and timelines, and which even included relocating people (as occurred, for example, with Seseña, which was moved a little more than 10km, the new location over the old) once it was understood that in this way the new economic space would be optimized. Bureaucratic control of the apparatus of the State imposed guidelines: and if before each settlement project was drawn reflecting the picturesque, now – each project – was a reflection of a new type of territorial planning where their characteristics were unified to meet the needs of the new urban centers, determining the location, size, paths, urban spaces, equipment, transportation...thus defining some charac-

⁴⁶ Max Horkheimer “El Estado autoritario” in *Sociedad en transición*, Barcelona, Península 1976, pp.98-99.

teristics of housing imposed by required programs, building systems, and construction materials. But, and above all, a way to manage projects was imposed: and seeking to coordinate/control the labor of different regional offices, in June 1938 Benjumea approved an Order that required the duplication of all information so that the Government could keep track of the works approved. In other words, though it may appear contradictory, those “tecnic” Francoists achieved what the social-democratic Republic had not achieved: the imposition of a rational type of housing on a national scale, thus rejecting the attitudes of those who – after inventing a “national architecture” that was “based” on tradition – sought to bring a pseudo-regionalist image to the rural world, hoping to convince the country that that was “authentic popular architecture.”

Benjumea had no need to nationalize management of the field because the interests of the Government and those who complained about by the bourgeois landowners coincided. If the agrarian capital had been, during the years of the Republic, contrary to both democracy and civil rights, unions and public opinion, in 1939 criticism of the new policies didn't yet exist. In contrast to the imprecision of the Falange were the concrete settlement plans on a national scale: therefore – contrary to those who seeking to understand the architecture of those first years – had opted to seek out the arguments of the “blue avant-garde,” I understand that facing these empty words it is necessary, seeking to understand the reality of that first Francoism, to study the announcements of auctioned works that, biweekly, were published in the *Boletín Informativo de la Dirección General de Arquitectura*. His analysis (of which the priorities; when, how, and where were addressed or in terms of language) is explicit about the fundamental concern during the first years after the war being the rebuilding of rural centers. Only locating on a cronomap the places where such works were bid on – and later analyzing their impact on the territory – can we understand if the first Francoism was the simulation of a change or if, on the contrary, it sought the comprehensive transformation of reality. Only by reviewing the works completed before 1949 can we understand how monumental grandeur was the only strategy of the naïve, a propaganda operation for those who believed in the Francoist rhetoric without perceiving that the object was to reconstruct the country in their own way, to cre-

ate specific economic spaces: which is why they needed to use the techniques (the normalization and standardization of architecture) that, at least in their political discourse, they rejected. Therefore, the much complained about “theory of the value of ruin” provided by Speer and to which Franco made reference, for example, before the ruins of Belchite, had little in common with the activity of the National Institute of Settlement of Devastated Regions.⁴⁷

Francoism was, in those early years, as much a project of ordering rural society as hate towards an urban culture that had been accused, some time earlier, of having lost the values that, as they understood, were inherent to Spanish society... *Many Spaniards believed, the ruling Spanish classes, that Spain was only in the capitals and the cities, and they didn't understand the reality of the villages and towns, of smaller places... All of that is what the Movement has come to revive, the incomparable creative capacity that a great national program is forging in all the provinces.*⁴⁸ The various organizations created before (or immediately after) the conclusion of the War by the Francoist Government had a specific purpose: if the Directorate General of Architecture (DGA) sought (without success) to fix guidelines, the Union Work of the Home (OSH), the National Institute of Housing (INV), and the Office of Housing had more than limited action until 1955. But two organizations – the General Directorate of Devastated Regions (DGRD) and the National Institute of Colonization (INC) took the reconstruction initiative to the rural world. If the INC laid out the territorial scale (each intervention charted – according to what was proposed in the 20s – within the dynamic of a watershed) DGRD sought to relaunch the economy in non-irrigated areas. In both cases deciding the priorities of the interventions was the responsibility of directive bodies, and the important things is that both services sought to unify criteria, establish common programs needs for housing, to regulate the distribution of the population, defining what would be their facilities and equipment in order to determine construction systems. It was necessary to establish

⁴⁷ Pedro Gómez Aparicio. “El símbolo de los dos Belchites”, *Reconstrucción*, no. 1, April 1940, pp. 6-9.

⁴⁸ “Discurso pronunciado por Franco en Valladolid, el 29 de noviembre de 1959” in *Pensamiento político de Franco. Antología*, Madrid, Ediciones del Movimiento, t. II, 1975, p.492.

a rigid administrative organization, which is why the proposed regional offices whose mission was to carry out what the Government mandated, maintaining a unity that is possible to understand by anyone who reviews the publications of that period.⁴⁹ To understand how long the first Francoism lasted, what its politics where, its achievements, or to understand if these were spontaneous or a reflection of a specific program and defined direction (which implied knowing who established the guidelines for behavior, based on what premises, and with what objectives) are, in my opinion, issues to be studied. Only through them can we understand to what extent (and, in this case, to what end) they wanted to disrupt the reality that defined the Republic during those years.

⁴⁹ María Luisa Gómez, *La intervención administrativa en la vivienda en España 1938-2005*, Madrid, Editorial Montecorvo, 2006, p.35.